





Professor Theophilus Parsons sends to the Boston Daily Advertiser, by request of the editors of that paper, an abstract of what he recently said to the Law School at Cambridge on the subject of Martial Law. We give below that portion of it which relates to the slavery question.

Many of you have asked of me what would be the law or the legal rights which an army, advancing by order of the President into a State in organized rebellion, would carry with it, as to the slaves. I will endeavor to answer this question.

In the first place, that army must have the rights, and all the rights, of war. Because, if a State puts itself into that position with reference to the United States, the Government of the United States must necessarily accept that position while carrying on the conflict, although the General Government prosecutes the war with no desire of subjugation, but only for the purpose of bringing that State back to its original position.

There are four ways in which that army might deal with slaves. One is, to seize and use them in its military labors. That might do some good to the country, as it might seize horses or oxen to draw their wagons, or shovels as dig their trenches. How far compensation should be made must depend upon circumstances. It is a common opinion, that modern civilization has so far mitigated war, that it is no longer one of the laws of war, that an invading army may seize, use, or destroy private property. This is a mistake, according to the authorities of the law of nations. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the modern usages and proprieties of war—and there are such things—would justify the exercise of this right only on the ground of military necessity.

The second way is to receive and harbor all runaway slaves. And the third is but a step further in the same direction, although it may seem to be a wide step; it is to liberate them, not, as it were, passively, but by proclamation, or other active measures. As matter of law, I have not the least doubt of the right of an invading army to do this. It would, regarded as a mere question of law, stand on the footing of a destruction of private property in an enemy's country. And like that, it would be an unquestionable right; but, if the usages of war were to govern it, it would be a right to be exercised only as a military necessity, and for the purpose of weakening the enemy, and lessening his means of attack or resistance. And the existence of this necessity must be determined by the commanding officer, or by the supreme authority at home, in view of all the circumstances of the case. Should there be a war between two Slave States, say Georgia and South Carolina, and Georgia should invade South Carolina, I have no doubt that the invading forces might and would claim and possess a right to exercise these means of weakening their enemy, if they thought proper.

The fourth way of dealing with slaves would be to put weapons into their hands, and incite them to armed insurrection. If any such right as this ever existed, it can only spring from the extreme necessity, and from a condition of things which it would be difficult and painful to imagine. With my understanding of what an armed servile insurrection must be, I may illustrate my view of the law thus: An army which invaded a State, and supplied with water by a stream flowing into it, would have a military right to cut off the stream, and so reduce the city to submission. But it would have no right, military or other, to poison the waters. There seems to me, as matter of law, a good case for this. The slaves are to be incited, might certainly, as a military necessity, liberate the slaves, and make any use of them which he could make of his own soldiers; but nothing more.

Questions of a moral nature, and others of expediency, gather around this topic of the treatment of slaves by an invading force. I have avoided all reference to them, not because I am insensible to their existence or their force. But it is my business here to speak to you, as well as I can, of the law, and I believe I can speak of it more accurately, if I speak only of the law.

#### THE SLAVES TO BE MURDERED.

The occupation of Virginia soil by our troops is throwing the section journal in a paroxysm of rage. In their blind fury, they are conjuring up spectres of the most horrid description. The general reader will have been prepared for the utterance of very considerable amount of falsehood and bombast, sundry rare specimens of which have already appeared in the columns of this paper. But the Mobile Register of last Saturday out-Herods Herod in this respect. After announcing the invasion of Virginia, that journal observes:—

"Servile insurrection is a part of their programme, but they expect no great amount of practical good to result therefrom—consequently, it is contended that it would be a far better course of policy, for the abolitionists to murder the slaves, and exterminate slavery. A more monstrous proposition could not emanate from the most incontinent fiend among the damned. But, infamous as it is, it finds an advocate in the Abolition press. The slaves are to be indiscriminately slaughtered, and when the last one is butchered, then it is thought the institution will cease to exist. The soul recoils in horror at the idea of an unscrupulous war upon the innocent and defenceless slave. The Syrian massacre of the Christians and all the crimes of its bloody participants pale before the proposed atrocities of the Black Republicans. Their murders, however, are not the murders of a tyrant, but of a tyrant's protectors and saviors. With this much of their published programme, we must not be surprised at any act or threat as the campaign advances."

It is unnecessary to say that no Northern journal, "Black Republican" or any thing else, has ever recommended anything of the sort. We, let it pass. The extract given above shows the rebel leaders begin to realize clearly the danger of a slave insurrection. A previous paragraph had cracked the whip over the planters' heads, telling them that the "object of the foe, in addition to that of subjugation, embraces confiscation of property, and the entire annihilation of the institutions of the South." This was very good to begin with, so far as the slaveholder might be concerned. But it was evident that, unlike the fable of the frog, what was said for him might not be death to the negroes. So, to keep the latter in the traces, they are threatened with extermination. The Abolitionists intend to murder them all!—*New York Commercial Advertiser.*

#### OUR BAD EXAMPLE.

The New York Independent, of last week, contains a letter from Rev. Dr. Cheever, who still remains a broad, doing good service, on the opinions in Great Britain concerning the war, in which he says:—

It is impossible to measure the prejudice produced here against the cause of the North by the reading that Massachusetts regiments are offered to put down slave insurrections, that poor fugitive slaves are thrust back into the hell of slavery by Northern commanders, that the Governor of Rhode Island had returned escaping from his own country from a Rhode Island regiment, that colored persons are not permitted to enlist, that the Governor of Pennsylvania had forbidden colored troops to go from Pennsylvania into Virginia, for fear of a servile war, and that all purpose of liberating the slaves is constantly denied. It is most preposterous to say on the part of the North that more than anything else to make the people here believe that the war is not at any rate a war against slavery, and therefore they are as ready to sympathize with the South as with the North, if neither party mean to obey God, and set at liberty those that are bound. There are other evil influences. I met recently a colored minister of the Gospel from the United States, who showed me his passport or protection, for passport he could not obtain; the only document he could get from the American Government in February, 1861, being a sheet of paper, setting forth that he was a native of America, but no citizenship certificate, nor any protection guaranteed as a citizen of the United States. If the United States would retain the sympathy of Great Britain, or of any country in Europe, such injustice as this must be brought to an end. Let the Republican Administration in our country show that they hate slavery, and they will have the good-will and fervent sympathy of the people everywhere. If the Government of the United States would have the sympathy of the people of Great Britain, (a thing which is every way most desirable,) let them make it plain that this conflict against the South is a conflict in behalf of the oppressed, a conflict truly for freedom, the cause of justice and mercy to the oppressed, and therefore the cause of God.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1861.

#### A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

Extract from a Letter to a Representative in Congress. Among the matters marked, in my attentive reading of the speech, delivered in February last, which you had the kindness to send me, were these two ideas.

You think that the action of Congress and of the people should be directed to "restore the ancient fraternal feeling" between North and South, and to "settle forever these questions which disturb our peace." As to the "fraternal feeling" of which you speak, I now send you (in three pamphlets) a compilation of very convincing evidence, consisting of words and deeds of Southern men, that that feeling (as far as these people are concerned) is dead, without hope of resurrection.

In saying that the matters copied in these pamphlets from Southern papers are the words and deeds of Southern men, I have greatly understated my case. They are the words and deeds of the dominant party of Southern men; of the people who despotically rule the South, and whose rule is submitted to without remonstrance by the remainder, small or great, of the Southern population. No doubt the class of people exists, at the South, to whom Mr. Helper addressed his admirable book. No doubt there are genuine "Republicans" exist there. But since those worthy people dare not appear for what they are—since they dared not vote, last November, for Lincoln, the man of their choice—and since they dare not buy, nor keep in their houses, nor give away, a copy of Helper's book, for fear of immediate lynching by the dominant party—we must leave them out of the present question. You cannot hold open negotiation with people who sneak in holes and corners, and when they come into the light put on a seditious countenance to save their lives. The only South there is now, to hold open intercourse with, is the rebellious South. And these men (and women too) hate the North with perfect hatred. In regard to any portion of the South which has a voice and a visible existence, we may as well dismiss the fiction of "fraternal feeling." Yet these are the people we have now to deal with. And, as you most justly say, we ought so to deal with them as to "settle forever these questions which disturb our peace." How shall this immensely important work be done?

Can it be done in any other way than by accomplishing the utter annihilation of slavery, as far as the United States are concerned? Have not all our national troubles sprung from this source? Is there not, indeed, an "irrepressible" conflict between freedom and slavery? Is it not necessarily true that he who holds a slave is himself held—cumbered—restrained by that very act, of a portion of his own natural liberty? And that he who is allied with the slaveholder, for the purpose (among others) of holding the slave securely, is himself also, to that extent, cumbered, limited, deprived of a portion of his liberty?

We may as well recognize and acknowledge the truth, that our fathers committed a sin and a folly in trying to incorporate slavery with their freedom; and that it is alike our duty and our interest to repair their error without further delay. We have neglected several eminently good opportunities to do this; not to speak of the fact that the constantly increasing evils of slavery were calling upon us every year to abate that horrible nuisance without a moment's delay; but now, when slavery is threatening the very existence of the Government, and compelling the raising of immense armies for the protection of the Capital, is it not suicidal folly to think longer of concession to this Minotaur? Can we, as reasonable beings, think of plan for, bend our whole energies to the accomplishment of, anything less than its entire destruction?

Individually, (such is my sense of the enormous and increasing evil, as well as wickedness, involved in the toleration of slaveholding,) I should rejoice to let every slave State go, immediately and finally, from this Union, joyfully giving up, for the advantage of their absence, the stolen property which they might carry off. But the United States Government cannot do this. By Abraham Lincoln's election as President, he has been put in charge of the property of the nation, and when it is plundered, he must seize the robbers and recover the property. Neither can he negotiate with robbers who are also robbers. He must first make them lay down their arms and give up their plunder. But it is the business of Congress, wisely regarding the past, the present, and the future, to provide remedies for present evils and securities for future welfare. And, for both these purposes, it seems to me absolutely indispensable that they should take measures to free the United States from slavery. While one particle of this monstrous remains in actual existence within our boundaries, while one word actually convicting it remains in our Constitution or our laws, we are constantly exposed to a repetition of all the present evils. A new rebellion would spring up after the overthrow of the present one. We must strike at the root; we must eradicate and extirpate it. This is our "one thing needful"; and, for this thing, now, now, NOW is "the accepted time."

In your speech in February last, you spoke of the government of this country as "a system of government which unites the utmost capacity of national power and renown, and the most perfect protection of social order, with the highest degree of individual liberty." I hope the events of the succeeding months have taught you that which your own observation and reflection ought, even then, to have made plain to you, namely, that our nation has never displayed, either "the most perfect protection of social order," or "the highest degree of individual liberty"; and, moreover, that a system of government including something so inherently vicious as to have nourished discord up to open rebellion, and something so base as to have kept the finger of scorn pointed at us through the last quarter of a century by every civilized nation, cannot possibly represent "the utmost capacity of national power and renown." Our system has proved itself weak, and vicious, and shameful; and it has manifested become such through the internecine of slavery. It is time to begin the experiment of a popular government founded upon freedom; a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, doing the duty of the strong by protecting the weak. If this Congress shall fail to enter vigorously upon this work, if it shall commence no provision for the utter and speedy eradication of slavery from those States which are to call themselves ultimately "United," it will not only have lost one of the noblest and most auspicious opportunities, but will have violated a manifest duty, and incurred an ineradicable disgrace. That no such guilt and disgrace may rest upon your head is the earnest wish and prayer of your friend, C. K. W.

\* "The New Reign of Terror" in the Slaveholding States for 1859-60.  
\* A Fresh Catalogue of Southern outrages upon Northern Citizens.  
\* "The Spirit of the South towards Northern Freedmen and Soldiers."

We publish two more communications from our Illinois correspondent, B. G. WRIGHT, relative to the rights of Southern secession. Our answer again is, that he fails to show any analogy between that secession and the right of rebellion as laid down in the Declaration of Independence; or between it and the ground of Disunionism as advocated by the Abolitionists. We are surprised that he fails to make a discrimination where the contrast is as great as that between light and darkness; and, failing to do this, he is bringing upon himself unnecessary popular odium. We will make a fresh effort to clear up the mist in a future number.

## THE PRESENT ORISIS.

### A DISCOURSE.

Delivered at the Music Hall, Boston, Sunday, June 30, BY E. H. REYNOLDS.

Photographic Report by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON.

It is our good fortune to live in a stirring period, and an exceedingly interesting to look into. Any moment, being the conflux of two eternities, is very wonderful, but times like the present seem peculiarly so; perhaps because we touch life at more points, shake ourselves clear, somewhat, from the meshes of society, the cobwebs of politics and ecclesiastical, in which most of us are sucked dry, and bloodless, and range abroad a little. I like such times. All things go on their own merits again. The Spirit of Progress, moving upon the face of society, its foundations are broken up, and those who have clung must swim or sink—either is good for them. Flat officials are unthrifted from their bread and butter. Constitutions, codes, creeds, unions, all are solemnly interrogated whether they have any thing inherent or lifeless. If not, down they must go; for, through them, or over them, the world must get forward. At such a period, you look for the Constitution where it is—in the glass—not to huckstering statesmen, playing hide-and-seek among law books. You look for the Church, not at Beecher's, for the Supreme Court, not at the Capital, but under the jauntiest hat you meet on Washington street. One seeks help for himself and in himself. Outside authority doffs its hat to inside authority.

Such moments are the inspired periods of the race—the only ones that history thinks it worth while to remember. The problem of life is to do something, to think and kick; to pass from the material to the ideal; from what is partial, relative, temporary, to the universal, the absolute, the eternal. The organic forms of society—politics, commerce, the schools and the church—are methods of transit; attempts to bridge the chasm. Your social evil—war, slavery, intemperance, woman's wrongs, or the like—is the slough of despond, in which the race sticks by the way. Inspiration, poetry, philosophy, the dreams of lovers, the intuitions of women and children, are prophecies of that perfectness of which we are capable.

"Through the ages, one increasing purpose runs. And the angels of men are widened with the process of the sun."

Just now, this upward movement is energetic, volcanic; it is the historic feature of the present period. Human nature is insurgent. Titans toss and Titans tumble here and there. It is the dawning millennium of "mud-sills." War results. Graduates from "bloody instructions," the people clutch the weapons next their hands, wherewith to strike down the oppressor. They have not yet learned to trust the soul and the truth; they have not yet faith to rise into celestial orbits, into those great circle truths which enfold all nations and all ages, as the sky the earth. Men say, "Your idea is right; the human soul is adequate to its functions; the reign of Reason and Love is the ideal of democratic, Christian civilization; but the world is not ready for it yet." That is, it was rash in Copernicus, on discovering the true theory of astronomy, to transfer the centre of observation at once to the sun; he should have stopped a few centuries on the way at Mars. The divine martyrdom of Calvary, the love doctrine of Jesus, was a mistake. He should have enlisted a regiment of Zouaves in Jerusalem, and marched against Pilate and Nero. Your model Christians preach Jesus, and practice Joshua; and in this terrific sweep of unionism, that takes the sturdiest reformers off their feet, I must put most of the "infidels" and "fanatics" into the same category.

Christendom has not yet begun to fathom the ethics of the Cross in respect of humanity. The word "War" sticks like a barbed hook in the throat of every discourse from this desk.

They tell us that the war principle is horrid; its only moral light flashes from the sword; it "repels all the commandments," casts away all the anchors of religion, to drift darkly before the most irrepressible and vindictive of the human passions. I believe it; nor am I able to separate the sin from the sinner, the evil from its causes. Viewed from the plane of absolute truth, in the last analysis, (I weigh my words, and mean every letter,) the life-taking doctrine, (the life-giving doctrine is its antipode,) the war principle, is a horrid iniquity;—fashionable, constitutional, orthodox murder. A virtuous war is as impossible as a truthful lie, for the right to life is the basis of all other rights. Where there is no life, there can be no liberty, no law, no humanity, no religion. This theory, however, does not (as Dr. Solger, a few weeks ago, from this desk, ably, though erroneously, argued) make mere animal life ultimate; it makes the human soul ultimate. Instead of marching against Jerusalem and Rome with murderous weapons, it goes to Calvary, and wins the world.

I do not use these words "Cross" and "Calvary," because they are catch-words of conservatism, just now, in Christendom; but because they stand for the highest inspirations of the human soul, yet incarnated upon earth. Their essence is quite as unpopular now as in the days of Jesus; and no man is worthy to take the name of the beloved Nazarene into his lips, who has not a Sinai and Calvary of his own.

I know it is great cause for distrust one's own opinion, to differ from our Demosthenes; but I cannot agree with Mr. Phillips when he says, that such a contest as this can be settled only by arms. As I reverse his peerless intellect and unrivaled eloquence, his Spartan heroism and divine integrity, I most gravely dissent from that fatal concession. It denies the adequacy of the human reason to apprehend and obey the truth; severs Democracy, not only, but Protestantism, from its only living root; degrades that sublime moral struggle in which this greatest of living orators has borne a pre-eminent and immortal part, which alone has educated the North into the moral purpose of unifying this Republic in favor of freedom, instead of in favor of slavery, and which yet, under God, is to ride this whirlwind and direct this storm to universal emancipation. I know the cloud is heavy upon us, black with ruin; but the "Heavenly virtue" of Abolitionism would have cast all its bolts harmless into the earth, if the nation had not obeyed its higher instincts. By the faith of the Nazarene, by the universal consciousness of the race, I never will subscribe to that theory of depravity which despairs of human redemption. The music of the spheres is echoed in the shell under the leaden sea; the sky loves to be mirrored in the most democratic puddle of the street; so, underneath this burden of social evil, there is a way a moral response, which, if trusted, will become a diapason of universal melody.

It is very convenient to say, We are all right, and the South is all wrong. It is not so. The North is responsible for this state of things in the country, as well as the South. It is because we have supported the system of slavery, that it has risen to such gigantic proportions that now it strives to drag down the pillars of heaven. You cannot thus baptize yourselves into an imaginary faith in an imaginary God of Battles. Oh, no! The Christian God was always an abolitionist, always the "Prince of Peace."

The only theory, then, that can explain, or in any reasonable manner justify, this war, is the retribution theory. Retribution upon the North for seventy years' complicity with slavery; retribution upon the South for attempting to build a State on immorality, infidelity and atheism. But I do not propose to discuss the abstract question of peace this morning. Men have not the vision or self-poise to weigh its tremendous issues and the smoke of battle and the roar of cannon. I fear, indeed, that were I to apply the absolute method to this discussion, which makes this pulp the Plymouth Rock of a new civilization,—were I to hew to the line, even you would not resist all the chips that might fly in your faces. There are thunderbolts in the quiver of truth for war as well as for slavery; but they will keep. "Time makes more converts than reason." When Non-Resistance

is respectable as well as true, it will be clear as sunlight, and everybody will have always believed in it. My confidence in its present efficiency and ultimate triumph fully gains root and strength; and I know of no higher, braver, more beneficent or practical service to truth and humanity, than now and forever to fight under the celestial flag. But yet, in Irish phrasing, I am for a peaceable fight; for every man obeying his highest impulses of duty, and using the best weapons to which his hands are consecrated. Let us have no hypocrites. My issue is not with the leaf, with the twig, but with the root. Not so much with Niagara in the rapids, as at the source. If it is your religious duty to leap from a precipice, and try to stop half way down, I will risk the law of gravitation. You will not break that, but that may break you.

I do not forget, however, that this age believes religiously in bullets; that every existing government and church is founded on force—the sword its ultimate appeal. Then let those agencies be consecrated to the highest moral purpose of which they are capable. If it is a man's religious duty to vote under this government, it is his religious duty now to second his ballot with bullets. These rebel slaveholders are traitors to human nature, as well as to the Union; strike at the liberty of the race, as well as at the heart of the Republic; and Mr. Lincoln, as President, is bound to give them "Hail Columbia!" (Applause.) For, honestly President, (it seems odd to have an honest President once, does it not?) religiously believing in the necessity of such a government as this, he is bound to stand by his oath, the honor of his party, and the integrity of the government, or resign and go up to Garrison's position; and if, to do this, he were obliged to send every slaveholder in the land to that safest of all prisons, the grave, the public sentiment of the age would support him. (Applause.) This secession is utterly without excuse, and for the basest of purposes—high treason to justice and liberty, and a damnable insult to the heroes of '76. (Applause.) South Carolina never had a government. The "sovereign State" which is making so much ado, is only piracy in white kids and patent-leather, plus the blood-hound for a constable. Her first government will have the consent of black faces, not of black hearts only. This federal government is not a gingerbread compact, to be toppled by a whim; it is the consolidated popular heart; it is a confederacy of the people, by the people, for the people, and dissolvable only by common consent. Granting your premises, voters, I would assent to every word of Webster in the Hayne debate; for that argument yet remains the Gibraltar of Peace.

A word upon the peace method. The American Peace Society does not represent it. They are inspired by a noble impulse, but are not anchored in any definite idea or purpose. They "see men as trees walking." They believe in peace, except when there is war. They have not learned of St. James yet, that purity, by repentance and reformation, is the only path to peace. Hence they endorse the establishment, with all popular crimes and respectable iniquity, another volcano, and call that peace. I would not utter a word of discouraging criticism upon humane and generous efforts; but those gentlemen must have the compass of principle, and faith to launch, if they would reach the desired haven. The only possible peace method, in a contest like this, is illustrated in this thirty years' war of abolitionism, as conducted by its eternally belligerent pioneer—the very Achilles of moral fighters. The peace method is not an acquiescent, hat-in-hand, begging policy, but a moral revolt, whose earthquake shock shakes the planet,—a denunciation of oppressors and all their accomplices—"whose every word draws blood." Slavery is not peace. Samuel Hoar, kicked out of Charleston, is not peace. Your court-house in chains is not peace. Summer justling in the Senate is not peace. John Brown "justly hung" is not peace. Jeff Davis, President of rebels in rags and ruffles, commands-in-chief of all the pirates, who did not take Washington, is not peace. (Applause.) Oh, no, Mr. Burritt! This nation has sown the wind, and it must reap the whirlwind. It has sown fire and gunpowder, and it must reap explosion. Peace will come either by love or blood, by light or lightning. It will come only by the removal of the cause of war. It will come by Northern freemen pouring out their blood in glad atonement for seventy years of injustice to the slave. It will come by confederate armies swept like autumn leaves before the sublime wrath of the North. It will come by Davis, Wigfall, Toombs, Rhetts and Wise dropping to hell from the same halberd whence John Brown rose to heaven. (Loud applause.) It will come by Garrison "ascending to the right hand of God, with four million broken fetters in his hand," as proof that America had a conscience. Our great pioneer will live to see his anti-slavery purpose accomplished. The world will not come up with his peace principle for some ages yet. But "let the galled jule wince, his withers are unwrung." He has launched and lived his idea; he has solved the riddle, and, like Kepler, he can "afford to wait centuries for a reader, since God has waited six thousand years for an observer."

This war—it is only a catenaceous eruption of the hidden disease of our body politic. We have had peace in the shell, but war in the egg. *Causa latet, effectus manifestatur.* The cause is latent, the effect notorious enough. For seventy years, this nation has been organized war upon the black man—has honored his rights. When John Adams came home to his wife, he was greeted by the cry, "Constitution, Constitution!" "The supremacy of the laws," ranging on the side of the latter—the extinctionists,—now fronts the enemies of the Republic. Of these, there are two classes. First, the slaves; naturally, chronic rebels against all constitutional and unconstitutional servitude—in the Roman maxim, "As many slaves, so many enemies"; secondly, the slaveholders, now in defiant revolt. The government can subdue these only by emancipating the former from their chains, and the latter from their insolence and tyranny, or by the adoption of the prophetic '42 doctrine of John Quincy Adams, settle this question by the war power under the Constitution, in removing the cause of the disturbance, slavery.

Mark one thing! At this point, by all constitutional law, not less than by the justice of nature and history, to the government, there are no slaves to-day in the insurgent States. They have trodden the Constitution under foot, with its pro-slavery compromises; and if the administration proceeds to receive them on the basis of the old Union, it will not only be bargaining with rebels and pirates, but with newly constituted slaveholders. Now, holding the government by virtue of the non-extension doctrine, how will you, Republicans, account to the conscience of the North, if you receive this new batch of slave States into the Union? If you are not degenerate sons, you will seize this opportunity, and let the same spirit—property or no property—that dumped the British tea in your harbor, now bury slavery so deep that no trump of resurrection shall ever reach it. (Applause.)

If, however, this war should terminate now, these results are irreversible. First, the Slave Power is broken. Jeff Davis can never go from the Rogues' Gallery in New York to his seat in the Senate, whether his head accedes from his shoulders or not. Second, slavery stands revealed. Thirteen years ago, from that garret in Congress street, Garrison labelled it PRACY; the North now responds, "Amen." Third, the North is emancipated from "complimentary Yankeeism." No more slaveholders on Bunker Hill! (Applause.) No more pirates in Faneuil Hall! (Applause.) No more Anthony Burns carried down State street through federal bayonets! (Applause.) No more John Brown "justly hung"! (Applause.) Why, Dr. Spring now will be able to repeat the Lord's Prayer without choking, and Dr. Dewey will return to his first love of his mother. There will result, also, a deeper and wider sympathy with the bondmen, a chronic, deadly hatred of slavery everywhere, and a fixed determination with all parties to rebuild the republic on the only enduring basis of "No Union with Slaveholders." Certainly, that is gain enough for one six months.

Yet the most hopeful aspect of this cause now is in the Old South, again true to its earlier heroism, now ways under the eloquence of Manning; grants from ocean to ocean cover before the hurrying bolts of Plymouth church; while the greatest of Unitarians, with whom, as that of Rome with Tully, "this eloquence still breathes and burns," the modern Luther, within sight of the flying legions of Austria, ascends from the banks of the Arno, and Parker is immortal with freedom in Europe and America. (Loud applause.)

In 1856, Governor Everett would have made a meeting like this a penal offence. Now it would take a prison of all out-doors to hold us. The last argument against life-insurance is, that all the North have become Abolitionists, and Abolitionists never die. Governor Everett's successor ascends to the capital over the prostrate forms of Cushings and kidnappers, and first wins a national reputation by the brave sentiment, "John Brown was right." In '37, anti-slavery fell under the deadly aim of pro-slavery hate at Altamont. Now, Lovejoy rises in a redeemed West, and sends to the capital the noblest and truest President since Washington. (Applause.) Neither do I forget the indirect agency of politics in a reform like this. It was at the vision of the rail-splitter—"Birmingham road to Dunsinane"—approaching the capital, that South Carolina leapt from the federal battlements into the flaming lake of disunion. It was here Free-Soilers in Massachusetts that gave us the Personal Liberty Bill. It was John A. Andrew, using Caleb Cushing for a block, who chopped off the head of Judge Loring. (Applause.) Grant all this indirect service, still, politics, as such, has been an utter failure in this cause. You commenced with Washington, as President, six hundred thousand slaves, and the national domain dedicated to freedom; you fell to Buchanan, the Dred Scott decision, four million of slaves, and, as Mr. Seward concedes, the federal eagle going forth every where bearing chains, and not the olive branch, in its talons. The Republican party fought its way to the capital on the Free Soil doctrine. Its first act, on arriving there, was to organize the territories without the guarantee of freedom, so that Mr. Wilmore entered one door of Congress just in season to see his proviso flying from the other. If Mr. Lincoln had been allowed to carry on this government, he would now be returning fugitives, putting down insurrections, and hanging John Browns. He promised to do it, and he is a man of his word.

Now let war try its hand. Since last November, we have lived a century. The man who was the South-side candidate for Governor of our State, Gen. Butler, is now chief conductor on the underground railroad. (Applause.) Massachusetts soldiers in Fortress Monroe hymn the praises of "old John Brown." The American Anti-Slavery Society, temporarily reclining upon its shield, witnesses the grand spectacle of 250,000 freemen in one embattled emancipation society, marching Southward. It is "all up" with the Bell-Everetts; for every body is a "Wide-awake" now (applause); while booming cannon bring to the surface of our sea the dead carcasses of Hallecks, Winthrops, Cushings, Everetts, misanthropic boards, tract societies, and doctors of divinity, to protest that they "still live," and out-Garrison Garrison in exorcising slaveholders. Surely, it is a blessed gain to see this rotten politics, and a church "dead in trespasses and sins," hurled against the battle of the South. Before mine, give us nitre; before St. Peter, saltpetre. They said the Abolitionists did not pray, were not devout. Well, they have been helping the Lord answer the prayers of the church, and have they not done admirably?

But do not let these hallooings take you off your feet. We are not yet out of the woods. The Government still clings to the shade of the old Union. The Tribune, the most courageous and powerful of our tribunes, the Napoleon of this gigantic struggle, still adheres to its policy of forgetting the negro, and daily assuages posterity that we shall not be guilty of a disinterested motive in this matter. Mr. Seward, hat in hand, "with bated breath and whispered humbleness," begs Miss Seclusion to return to more tender federal embraces. Strange to say, the hope of freedom is yet in slavery—in the madness of the South. The maxim of the ancients yet holds true—"Evil is good in the making"; and South Carolina continues to be the most efficient agent the Anti-Slavery Society ever employed. Still, "there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." A higher prescience presides at this checker-board. This thirty years' struggle marshals the nation now, first into those who think slavery an evil to be griddled with non-extension—represented by the Republican party, and the framers of the government; secondly, those who think slavery a benefit, the cornerstone and capital of republican liberty—fostered by Mr. Calhoun, the Aristotle of slave philosophy, the Richelieu of the South, whose dead hand clutched those cotton stars from the federal firmament; thirdly, those who think slavery a sin and a crime, to be immediately put away—represented by the slaves, and all whose hearts are bound with them. Three parties—the tolerationists, the extensionists, and the extinctionists. The first vanishing into the second and third, now necessitates the final classification of slavery every where, as slavery or non-slavery. Fortunately, the government, with all the rallying words of conservatism, "Union," "Constitution," "the supremacy of the laws," ranging on the side of the latter—the extinctionists,—now fronts the enemies of the Republic. Of these, there are two classes. First, the slaves; naturally, chronic rebels against all constitutional and unconstitutional servitude—in the Roman maxim, "As many slaves, so many enemies"; secondly, the slaveholders, now in defiant revolt. The government can subdue these only by emancipating the former from their chains, and the latter from their insolence and tyranny, or by the adoption of the prophetic '42 doctrine of John Quincy Adams, settle this question by the war power under the Constitution, in removing the cause of the disturbance, slavery.

Mark one thing! At this point, by all constitutional law, not less than by the justice of nature and history, to the government, there are no slaves to-day in the insurgent States. They have trodden the Constitution under foot, with its pro-slavery compromises; and if the administration proceeds to receive them on the basis of the old Union, it will not only be bargaining with rebels and pirates, but with newly constituted slaveholders. Now, holding the government by virtue of the non-extension doctrine, how will you, Republicans, account to the conscience of the North, if you receive this new batch of slave States into the Union? If you are not degenerate sons, you will seize this opportunity, and let the same spirit—property or no property—that dumped the British tea in your harbor, now bury slavery so deep that no trump of resurrection shall ever reach it. (Applause.)

If, however, this war should terminate now, these results are irreversible. First, the Slave Power is broken. Jeff Davis can never go from the Rogues' Gallery in New York to his seat in the Senate, whether his head accedes from his shoulders or not. Second, slavery stands revealed. Thirteen years ago, from that garret in Congress street, Garrison labelled it PRACY; the North now responds, "Amen." Third, the North is emancipated from "complimentary Yankeeism." No more slaveholders on Bunker Hill! (Applause.) No more pirates in Faneuil Hall! (Applause.) No more Anthony Burns carried down State street through federal bayonets! (Applause.) No more John Brown "justly hung"! (Applause.) Why, Dr. Spring now will be able to repeat the Lord's Prayer without choking, and Dr. Dewey will return to his first love of his mother. There will result, also, a deeper and wider sympathy with the bondmen, a chronic, deadly hatred of slavery everywhere, and a fixed determination with all parties to rebuild the republic on the only enduring basis of "No Union with Slaveholders." Certainly, that is gain enough for one six months.

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the Old South, again true to its earlier heroism, now ways under the eloquence of Manning; grants from ocean to ocean cover before the hurrying bolts of Plymouth church; while the greatest of Unitarians, with whom, as that of Rome with Tully, "this eloquence still breathes and burns," the modern Luther, within sight of the flying legions of Austria, ascends from the banks of the Arno, and Parker is immortal with freedom in Europe and America. (Loud applause.)

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## Poetry.

## TWO PICTURES OF THE SOUTH.

"Look on this picture, and then on this."—HAMLET.

To the Editor of the Liberator:  
Dear Sir—Take the liberty to send you a couple of poems. One is from the pen of William Simms, an exquisite poet, but full of that hyperbole for which the "sons of the South" are famous. Probably you may have met with it before. The other is a different version of the same subject, in which I have endeavored to present a more truthful picture—and I think that you will admit that, if my production is inferior, in poetry, it surpasses that of Simms for truth. Thinking this might be of some interest to your readers—as giving the "light and shadow," the bright and the dark side of the picture—I send them to you for insertion in your paper, or otherwise, as you may see fit.

I remain, yours, &amp;c.,

G. E. D.

## SONG OF THE SOUTH.

Oh! the South, the sunny, sunny South,  
Land of true feeling, land of love and wine!  
I drink the kisses of her rosy mouth,  
And my heart swells with a draught of wine;  
She brings me blessings of maternal love;  
I have her smiles, which hallow all my toil!  
Her voice persuades, her generous smile approves,  
She sings me from the sky, and from the soil!  
Oh! by her lonely pines, that wave and sigh—  
Oh! by her myrtle bowers, that bloom and fade—  
By all the thousand beauties of her sky,  
And the sweet solace of her forest shade;  
She is mine—she is ever mine;  
Nor will I admit resign  
Of what she gives me, mortal or divine;  
Will sooner part  
With life, hope, heart—  
Will die—before I fly!

## SONG FOR THE SOUTH—[PARODY.]

Oh! the South, the sunny, sunny South,  
Land of slavery, land of woe and pain;  
I hear the curses issuing from her mouth,  
And my heart swells with indignation's flame;  
She brings me tears from the maternal eye,  
And piteous moans that harrow up my soul;  
Her barbarous deeds offend the gracious sky,  
Nor fair name illumines th' accursed soil!  
Oh! by the myrtle bowers of sinners' kin,  
Oh! by the myrtle bowers of sinners' kin,  
By all the thousand horrors of her sin,  
And the dread terrors of her fate;  
She is not mine;—no, no, not mine;  
Give me the innocent child,  
Where Freedom reigns, and I  
Will never be the chattel slave  
Of sunny South, those valiant (?) ones  
Who never fly!

Al! Hate is here; such hate as ever springs  
From wretched slaves deprived of Freedom's joy;  
And round her all the horrors slavery brings,  
And burning words accumulate to destroy.  
Nor long shall rebellion slumber in repose,  
Or false boasts pollute th' indignant sky;  
Fate's ominous clouds, surcharged with dreadful woes,  
Thick gathering round, proclaim her doom draws nigh!  
Oh! by the fate of the unhappy blacks—  
Oh! by the cruel blows, and broken ties,  
And by the groans, and lacerated backs,  
By these, and more, that lead for vengeance cries;  
She is not mine; no, no, not mine;  
Thank God! the innocent child  
Where Freedom reigns sublime,  
And manhood swells the breast,  
And all mankind is blest,  
In mine! is mine!

G. E. D.

## COME UP HIGHER!

Come, give us your hand, ye down-trodden million,  
You've earned your freedom from every-day toil;  
Come, now, take your seat in Nature's pavilion,  
Mechanic, and seaman, and son of the soil.  
Come, give us your hand, your weary back straighten;  
Step up on that stair; now, up on another;  
Continue your rise, and your stand daily heighten,  
Assert yourself equal with mankind, your brother.  
Come, give us your hand, let us help you yet higher;  
Look around on the scene fabricated by you;  
This spectacle grand, which all nations admire,  
To both labor and art is assuredly due.  
Come, give us your hand, step up a notch still;  
The spade and the chisel, the steam and the pen,  
Are the powers that move both mountain and mill;  
The laborer's the cream of all living men.  
Come, give us your hand, you've reared up this huge pile;  
You've built up good houses, and cleared up our land;  
Your created wealth has made all the world smile;  
Stand erect on the platform, and give us your hand.  
Come, give us your hand, you keynote the arches,  
The structure of nations reposes on you;  
You keep up the many in life's rugged marches,  
While the reins have been seized by the indolent few.  
Come, give us your hand, come, sovereign brothers,  
Here's the signal of welcome to all of true worth;  
We're one common Parent, the God of our mothers,  
The great Master Mechanic of heaven and earth.  
Boston.

For the Liberator.

## THE VICTIM OF SLAVERY.

Sits the negro in his cottage,  
Long by slavery's hand oppressed;  
With the star of Freedom lighting  
Up his end and shining best.  
Round he looketh on the chosen  
Of his young and tender years;  
And down his swarthy features  
Stream the bitter, burning tears.  
Rest his glances on his children,  
Gathered fondly round his knee,  
And his heart itself is nerving  
To be happy, to be free.  
Sons, too long outcast and trodden  
Mid the canons' deafening roar,  
There is hope the hour is coming  
When your suffering shall be o'er.  
It must die—that monster huge—  
Though by Wealth and Power fed,  
For the sons of Freedom hate it,  
And will trample on its head.

STYLER.

## The Liberator.

## THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

DEAR SIR—As you have given your readers the two sermons of Messrs. Beecher and Phillips, in favor of the war, and against the "right of secession," I have also referred them to the article of William Goodell, as "a thorough refutation of the doctrine," will you do the *free* Abolitionists, the favor to republish, (from a pamphlet sent to your address,) "A Northern Plea for the Right of Secession," by my friend, George W. Bassett, of Ottawa, Illinois?

The "Plea" would occupy about the same space in the Liberator as the two sermons of Messrs. Beecher and Phillips. We would be thankful for its publication, even if divided to suit your convenience as to space.

The articles, which I requested you to publish from the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, is frankly admitted below the mediocrity of the communications from your numerous correspondents, in style, arrangement, &c. I make no pretensions, whatever, to scholarship, as all the schooling my worthy, though poor, pioneer parents were able to bestow upon their children was acquired, ragged and barefoot, in a "log cabin" in the wilds of the Northwestern Territory, and of the State of Ohio.

This objection will not hold good against my friend Bassett. He is a scholar, and his production of his pen, so far from being a disgrace to the columns of even the *Atlantic Monthly*, would, if published therein, add another literary and political gem to the many which already adorn its pages.

But you will perhaps ask, "Why should secession Abolitionists seek through a loyal anti-slavery journal to publish their unpopular views?" I answer, because we seek— anxiously seek—to reason with our fellow-abolitionists, and, if possible, to retain their good opinion, by an honest effort to convince them that, so far from being traitors, the Union, based upon the immutable principles of eternal justice and man's inalienable right to self-government, has no firmer friends under the broad canopy of heaven than the secession Abolitionists. True, we are every where ill-spoken of; denounced by one class of our fellow-citizens, directly, and by another indirectly, as traitors, and threatened by the former class with the halter, for daring to express our honest convictions of "right and wrong."

I have before me a letter from a friend in Illinois, dated May 11th, in which he says, "I received yours of April 23d, (referred at —) yesterday." In connection with it, I received a note from my sister, warning me for the world not to return home, as the town that I have done more than any other man to build up, physically and morally, would not listen to, or even tolerate me, one day. Oh, my brother! can it be possible that we are to be exiled for no crime, save preaching the doctrine that men are greater than their works—that God made man, and man made the Union; and that the Union—man's work—was no greater than man, God's work? Be- fore I left —, the "right of terror" had set in, and all hell appeared to be let loose. The main church in the town had the "stars and stripes" aloft from the steeple, and the building was as brother — phrases it, converted into a recruiting office. Oh, such is the religion of this God-accursed and God-forsaken nation!

I could give several cases of the most brutal and savage threats against the life of individuals who question the policy of this war.

The Republican journal at Rock Island unblushingly leads an attempt to hang a supposed "secessionist," who, it says, "had to run for his life, and hide from his pursuers in a 'waste-house,' as 'Moline patriot,' or 'The Patriot of Moline.' Moline, let it be remembered, has been proverbial for its Abolitionism."

This same Republican journal, in the same editorial, again urges the "hanging of cowards;" and yet I have to find the first man, who is not a Democrat, who condemns its course, or withdraws his patronage from a sheet so vile, and so dangerous to liberty and life.

Now, is it any wonder that our lives are in imminent peril when the Republican journals, who so lately professed to be the champions of "free speech, free soil, and free men," unblushingly incite the ferocious spirit of the mob, in a whiskey-drinking country, to the perpetration of the vilest crimes that disgraced humanity during the "Reign of Terror" in France?

In order to show the predominance of mobocracy in this region, let me state that a reliable individual, residing in the vicinity, has informed me that the ladies (I will not disgrace the name of woman by associating her with a mob) of Deaneington and vicinity have threatened to run, feather and rail-rail a military captain, one of their own professed anti-slavery Republicans, about some difficulty in the organization, or the acceptance by the Governor, of a military company.

Two years since, I lectured, by invitation, for a "Harmonical Association," in an adjoining county, and, of course, chose my subject, which was, Anti-Slavery. Taking the position that the Federal Constitution was, according to the "plain sense and intention of the words used in that instrument," an anti-slavery document, I admitted, on the other hand, that, as always administered, it was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." And I urged upon the consideration of the audience the fact that every man, who did not believe the Federal Constitution to be an anti-slavery document, and voted accordingly, was a unquestionably bound, if slavery be a crime, by the most solemn obligation to God and humanity, to trample it in the dust, and to go for "secession from a Union which bound the free States to be the 'jailers and constables of slavery.' At the close of the lecture, the gentleman, who brought me the invitation, informed me that the audience, respectable for both numbers and intelligence, "thought that they got more than they bargained for." They, however, treated me courteously. Since the commencement of this war to maintain the "covenant" which I then denounced, the same individual, a professed anti-slavery Republican, informed me, in no very flattering, if not in unfriendly terms, that if I ever came back to Red Oak Grove, and lectured as I had done, they would lynch me. And, in fact, so changed are the times, and so terrible is the "reign of terror," that it would cost me my life to attempt to lecture and distribute Anti-Slavery Tracts, as I did last winter. The remainder of the Tracts sent to me by Mr. May are, however, useless, as "others are doing the work of the Abolitionists" so thoroughly, that they, impatient of results, like the "Liberty," the "Free Soil" and the "Free Democrat" parties, have taken tickets in the Republican consolidated national ticket at Washington, under the management of Wendell Phillips's "SLAVE HOUND," Seward & Co. The advertised success of this mammoth ticket consists of the enormous and alarming capital stock of eighty millions of dollars.—"Almighty Dollars"—with the rare capacity of nearly doubling its capital every decade, while the "covenant with death and the agreement with hell" can be maintained. The grand capital prize in this magnificent lottery scheme, "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity," is the perpetuation of the slave "covenant," and the consequent perpetuity of slavery as a "State Right," which the owners of this lottery told us at Chicago was "essential to the perfection and endurance of our political fabric." The capital money prize is \$100,000 to the fortunate holder of the ticket endorsed, "The keenest-sectored blood-hound North of Mason and Dixon's line."

The other prizes are in a descending scale until they reach \$10 to the holder of a ticket endorsed, "Send the fugitive back to the hell of slavery, right or wrong."

The blanks in this lottery are "Secession and the overthrow of slavery;" and yet the "Disunion Abolitionists," instead of consistently taking the slave

States at their word, are unconsciously aiding the pro-slavery managers to turn the wheel so as to draw the grand prize, which will necessarily perpetuate slavery, and cheat them out of the "blanks," which they have heretofore coveted as the noblest prize which humanity could win.

B. G. WRIGHT.

P. S. Since writing the above, it seems that I am under the ban of a military company at Deaneington for distributing "secession pamphlets." I have been warned by a man, who passed through that place and vicinity, and heard the threats from numerous individuals, that this heroic company intends to give me a call next Saturday, and by the terror of a noose rope, to force me to retract my belief in the right of State secession, and to compel me to swear to support the Union, when they know, from my lectures at their Lyceum, that I have always declared the Union, as the Constitution is administered, to be "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," which every man, who is not a Radical Abolitionist, should indignantly trample in the dust.

Did I not intuitively and implicitly believe in the unlawfulness of even defensive war, and had I not an abiding faith in the philosophical and heroic virtue of Jesus, that "who loath his life shall save it," I would arm myself to meet this heroic military mob. Nay, more, I would not visit one of our villages, or even one of my *Republican* neighbors, without being armed with a bowie knife and a six-shooter.

Rural, Ill., June 2, 1861.

## THE LOGIC OF "CONTRABAND OF WAR."

The Pioneer of June 6, commenting on Mr. Cameron's instructions to General Butler in regard to the fugitives at Fortress Monroe, says:

"Only in America is it possible, in times like these, for a banker, who knew how to wage war only upon money-bags, to be made Minister of War; but if the war, contrary to logic and to right, can supply the qualifications of a soldier, Mr. Cameron gives promise of marvellous performances in his department. Let us look a little closer at his Order."

"The Government," it means, in other words, "cannot recognize the rebellion of a State against its authority, but must, spite of the rebellion, recognize its obligation to respect the laws of this State, and, among these laws, of course the one which makes cattle of men is pre-eminent." But, we ask, is there in Virginia a law which permits Mr. Cameron to send troops into that sovereign State, and to rule there as lord and master? He derives this right from the Federal Constitution and the state of rebellion, and thereby confesses that it is not the laws of the State which are binding upon him, but the purpose of the war, in which he has the authority of the Constitution. Why, then, should those State laws be binding in regard to slavery, especially since this constitutes the source of the rebellion? From the fact that Virginia is in the hands of the rebels, it is fairly established that the State of Virginia, whose laws were formerly entitled to consideration, no longer exists at all. How can Mr. Cameron recognize the State of Virginia into existence, when it no longer recognizes itself? But, as far as the obligations of the federal government are concerned, if the latter, spite of the rebellion and the war undertaken against it, declares itself still bound to the recognition of slavery that exists by Virginia law, surely all the more must it be bound to recognize the laws of the Union which exist for Virginia, and among these stands pre-eminent the Fugitive Slave Law. If Mr. Cameron, because of the state of war, can be acquitted of the duty of surrendering fugitive slaves as the laws of the Union require, then most certainly he can also be acquitted of the duty of recognizing slavery, as the laws of Virginia require. How will he escape this contradiction?

Where there is no logic, either honor or understanding is wanting. The policy which reckons Mr. Cameron amongst its supporters is lacking in both, and the poor slaves must shortly suffer for it. He calls them "persons," but orders them to be retained as "contrabands." Were he candid, he would say: "To surrender the 'persons' to the slaveholders—while there are in arms against us to be too outrageous, and would excite discontent among the soldiers; therefore, we will postpone the rendition till the 'masters' have been reduced to submission, in order to compel them for their fate. But we must restore—capital and interest. Hence the keeping of accounts."

## THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE.

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.) June 16, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I was much cheered by reading your article in the *Liberator*, headed, "What of your Peace Principles now?"—for it seems to me that there has been a sorrowful departure from those principles by many who have, heretofore, professed to believe in them. I believe there never was a time when it was more necessary to hold up those principles high—especially now that we are all hoping that, in the contest now going on, in some way the liberation of the slave will grow out of it; and, therefore, a great temptation is presented for the lovers of freedom to take part in it.

When I adopted the principles of Peace, it was from a conviction that human life is too sacred to be taken away, under any pretext; that the strongest power in the universe for the doing away of moral evil is moral truth; and that human life and human liberty will never be secure, so long as one human being is justified in taking the life of another human being for any cause. I have believed that the world was steadily progressing, and that the teachings of Jesus were far in advance of those of Moses; but of our modern reformers, who have professed peace principles for a life-time, and are now preaching Progression, have discovered that the law of Moses is in advance of the precepts and example of Jesus. At the meeting of the *Friends of Human Progress*, held a few days ago at Waterloo, one of the prominent objects of which has heretofore been to promote peace principles, strong war speeches were made; and I was somewhat amused at the reasons that one dear old friend gave for a change in his views. He had discovered that slaveholders were "lions and tigers," and that it is right to shoot "wild beasts." So that we have only to cry "tiger," or "mad dog," and we have made a man an outlaw! Oh! when will men learn to be governed by sound principles instead of popular excitement!

Yours, for Liberty and Progress,

BENJAMIN FISH.

## PEACE TESTIMONY.

To the Editor of the Liberator:  
It seems to me that, if ever there was a time when the true friends of peace should "report themselves," now is that time.

With all my soul, I respond a hearty "Amen!" to brother Love of Philadelphia. I also feel it my duty to say that I have not a particle of sympathy for the principles of brother Madox. I hope to hear extensively from the true peace men and women everywhere. Thank God for "another sifting!"

Yours, for the redemption of man,

SEWARD MITCHELL.

Cornville, (Me.) June 20, 1861.

A FACETIOUS SOUTHERN STATE PAPER. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Confederate States, in a recent labored report, perpetrate the following excellent official joke:—"Our late associates in the Government of the United States have seized the whole of the United States navy, one half of which belongs to us, and design using it against us." The U. S. Government is actually charged with seizing its own ships!

SOLDIERS' NEWSPAPER. The printers in the 5th Pennsylvania regiment, at Alexandria, have started a newspaper devoted to the interests of the soldier and not dealt in calumny and sugar plums long enough?

## LEWIS'S NORMAL INSTITUTE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING.

This Institution is presumed to be the first ever established to educate guides in Physical Culture; and it is believed that, of all schools, none is more demanded by the exigencies of the times. Teachers, managers of schools, the people themselves, are awakening to a vivid perception of this vital want, and beginning earnestly to inquire how it can be best supplied.

Books, discussing the subject in some of its various aspects, have long occupied a place in our libraries; but we have failed to be improved by them, chiefly because Physical Culture, especially in the department of Gymnastics, is one of those arts which have been the living teacher. We need a college, in which persons may be taught both the art and the science of physical training.

After due consultation with leading educators, it was lately resolved to organize such a college; and that resolve, under a statute of the Commonwealth, has now been carried into effect.

Readers of our educational journals are, to some extent, familiar with Dr. Lewis's system of Gymnastics; since, in connection with his appearance before the American Institute of Instruction, last year, those journals, as also large numbers of the daily press, gave somewhat full accounts of the principal features of that system. It is a novel system; novel, alike in its philosophy and in its practical details. Dispensing with the whole cumbersome apparatus of the ordinary gymnasium, its implements are all light, easily managed, and designed less to impart mere strength of muscle than to give flexibility, agility, and grace of movement. The exercises are accompanied by music, and all of them so arranged that both sexes participate in each.

Competent judges, acquainted with the corps of Professors attached to this Institution, will deem it no hyperbolic to say, that an abler, a more earnest corps could be furnished by no other city in the country.

The chair of Anatomy will be occupied by Dr. Thomas H. Hoskins, author of the invaluable work entitled "What We Eat." His lectures will be abundantly illustrated by skeletons, manikins, models, paintings, and diagrams. To a judicious leadership in physical culture, a knowledge of anatomy is much more important than to the practice of medicine. In a class of pupils, one is very stopping, has a lateral curvature of the spine, an ugly gait, or is otherwise deformed or enfeebled through some muscular infirmity, the teacher, if not knowing anatomy, will proceed like one in the dark. On the day following the delivery of each lecture, a quiz will be held on the subject thereof, and all the pupils required to attend the same.

The chair of Physiology is to be filled by Dr. Josiah Curtis, whose State Reports and other writings occupy so large a space in Medical Libraries. His pupils will derive special advantages from the varied means of illustration employed by him in a course so important to those who would become guides in physical training. Each pupil in this department will be required to join a class for recitation, and will come under the Professor's direct personal examination.

The chair of Hygiene will be occupied by Dr. Walter Channing, who held for so many years a high professional position in the Medical College of Harvard University; who is so well known to the profession for the largeness of his observation and experience in all departments of Sanitary Science; and whose profound interest in the success of this movement could alone induce him to leave his well-earned retirement to engage in a work so onerous.

The chair of Gymnastics will be occupied by Dr. Dio Lewis. Besides the services of the distinguished gentlemen above-named, those of several others, among the best thinkers in New England, have been secured for a course on the Philosophy of Education.

The class will also be taught the principles of the "Swedish Movement-Cure;" a department of the Institution, devoted to the treatment of curvature of the spine, paralysis, and other chronic maladies, affording rare opportunities to study in detail the application of Ling's methods in treating such forms of chronic disease. This special use of muscle-culture has won a reputation so world-wide, that a course of instruction in Physical Education which should omit its development would be seriously defective.

Each pupil, on being received into the Institute, will be critically examined with reference to strength, form and health; and any deficiency thus disclosed will be placed at once under the most thorough treatment, for the double purpose of illustrating the process of such treatment, and of more fully preparing the pupil himself for the duties of his profession.

Each will be drilled by Dr. Lewis in person, with such care that he or she cannot fail to become a competent teacher of gymnastics. And each will have two drills a day; in no instance, however, to be so protracted as to fatigue; will be made familiar with at least two hundred different exercises, all suited to develop both strength of muscle and symmetry of form; and will be allowed, every one in turn, to lead a small class, in order to learn more perfectly the art of leadership; a point, this latter, of such prime importance that it will receive unwearied attention.

Tickets for the course, \$75.00.  
Matriculation fee, 5.00.  
Diploma, 10.00.

Ladies will be charged twenty-five per cent. less than the above prices, and that reduction is made because of the unjust disparity of compensation which everywhere obtains between male and female labor.

Good board and room can be procured in Boston, during the summer, for \$3.00, \$3.50, and \$4.00, per week.

The demand for teachers has risen to fever-heat. At the commencement of the autumn terms of our schools and colleges, it would be easy for Dr. Lewis to effect engagements for one hundred ladies and gentlemen, should so many be found, as all who had faithfully availed themselves of the facilities offered by this Institution might well be found, competent to teach gymnastics. There is not a village of five hundred inhabitants, in the Free States, in which it would be difficult to open a class of ladies and gentlemen that would pay, for two hours in the evening, at least three times as much as is generally received for the six hours of rather unhealthy labor in the public schools. Indeed, any qualified teacher of these new, fascinating modes of gymnastic training would, in any part of the Northern States, make badly, if the earnings were not five times as large as are generally received in those schools. And unless, by some miracle, the physical condition of the American people shall be altogether revolutionized, the demand for teachers will rapidly increase. As no permanent fixtures are used, any hall with good light and ventilation might be occupied.

July and August have been selected as the time, and Boston as the place, of holding the first session of the Institute, for the following reasons:—The long vacation in schools occurs at that time, and teachers, so much interested in the work, are then at liberty. It is also the season of leisure with Dr. Lewis, in which he can give his undivided attention to the task of drilling the pupils. Boston is favored with almost uninterrupted sea-breezes, while the altitude and ventilation of the Institute building make it a very desirable place during the warm months. Persons in bad health could scarcely spend two months in relations more favorable to its restoration.

It is believed that "The Lewis Normal Institute of Physical Education" is opened under auspices which will insure its permanent success; that it will one day become the Harvard of many kindred colleges. The educational public will readily concede to Boston special advantages for the realization of all desirable educational schemes. This Institute will spare no labor and no expense which may promise to enlarge the sphere of its usefulness.

Address, T. C. SEVERANCE, Sec'y.,  
Bank of the Republic, Boston.  
—Chicago Tribune.

## MR. RUSSELL'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Russell writes to the London Times, under date New Orleans, May 25th, from which we make the following extract, showing in what manner the Southern army is recruited:—

## REIGN OF TERROR IN NEW ORLEANS.

There are doubts arising in my mind respecting the number of armed men actually in the field in the South, and the amount of arms in the possession of the Federal forces. The constant advertisements and appeals for a few more men to complete such and such companies furnish some sort of evidence that men are still wanting. But a painful and startling insight into the manner in which "volunteers" have been sometimes obtained has been afforded to me at New Orleans. In no country in the world have outrages on British subjects been so frequent and so wanton as in the States of America. They have been frequent, perhaps, because they have been generally attended with impunity. Englishmen, however, will be still a little surprised to hear that within a few days British subjects living in New Orleans have been seized, carried down, carried off by their labor at the wharf and the workshop, and forced by violence to serve in the "volunteer" ranks! These cases are not isolated. They are not in twos and threes, but in tens and twenties; they have not occurred stealthily or in by-ways; they have taken place in the open day and in the streets of New Orleans. These men have been dragged along like felons, protesting in vain that they were British subjects. Fortunately, their friends thought them that there was still a British Consul in the city, who would protect his countrymen—English, Irish, or Scotch. Mr. Russell, when he heard of these reports, made energetic representations to the authorities, who, after some evasion, gave orders that the impressed "volunteers" should be discharged, and the "Tiger Rifles" and other companies were deprived of the thirty-five British subjects whom they had taken for their "volunteers." The Mayor promises that it shall not occur again. It is high time that such acts should be put a stop to, and that the mob of New Orleans should be taught to pay some regard to the usages of civilized nations. There are some strange laws here and elsewhere in reference to compulsory service, over which the wheels of the cotton gin are in the place I am at the time. The most cruel and atrocious acts are perpetrated by the rabble, who style themselves citizens. The national feeling of curiosity and prying into other people's affairs is now rampant, and assumes the name and airs of patriotic vigilance. Every stranger is watched, every word is noted, espionage commands every key-hole and every letter-box; love of country takes to eavesdropping, and freedom shaves men's heads and packs men up in boxes for the utterance of a "volunteer sentiment." In this city there is a terrible substratum of crime and vice, violence, misery and murder, over which the wheels of the cotton gin's chariot rumble gratingly, and on which rest in dangerous security the feet of his throne. There are numbers of negroes who are sent out on the streets every day with orders not to return with less than 75 cents—anything more they can keep. But if they do not gain that—about 30 cents—they are liable to punishment; they may be put into jail on charge of laziness, and may be flogged *ad libitum*, and are sure to be half starved. Can anything, then, be more suggestive than this paragraph, which appeared in last night's paper:—"Only three corners' inquests were held yesterday on persons found drowned in the river, names unknown." The italics are mine.

Over and over again has the boast been repeated to me that, on the plantations, lock and key are unknown or unused in the planters' houses. But in the cities they are much used, though scarcely trusted. It appears, indeed, that unless a slave has made up his mind to incur the dread penalty of flight, there would be no inducement to commit theft, for money and jewels would be useless; search would be easy, detection nearly certain. That all the slaves are not indifferent to the issues before them is certain. At the house of a planter the other day, one of them asked my significant and well-made to take a walk with him, and he made to me in old domestic in the house of a gentleman in this city said, "There are few whites in this place who ought not to be killed for their cruelty to us." Another said, "Oh, just wait till they attack Jackson!" These little hints are significant, and coupled with the notices of runaways and the lock-ups in the police jails, to show that all is not quiet below the surface. The holders, however, are firm, and there have been many paragraphs stating that slaves have contributed to the various funds for State defense, and that they generally show the very best spirit.

## RETURNING FUGITIVES.

We trust that the order transmitted to Gen. Butler, to harbor no more slaves at Fortress Monroe, was based upon the fact that he is not prepared, by the condition of his quarters and the state of his commissariat, to give them a resting place; and that it is by no means an indication of ill policy, which the Government will order its commanders to adopt. The country needs and demands a practical assurance from the Government, that the war, brought upon the Republic by the insanity and folly of the South, is not on our side to be conducted with the gentle courtesy that marks the conduct of a man in his treatment of a rebellious and cowardly child; but that, as long as the Southern army war upon the material interests and political prosperity of loyal men, striking at our trade, our manufactures, our commerce and our agriculture, with the venom of a serpent; issuing letters of marque, threatening the safety of our commercial towns, and doing whatever else their malignity and ferocity may suggest—as long as they do these things, the blows aimed at them should be such that, when they fall, they will tell upon the general result, and tend to bring this conflict to a speedy close. This is not a war of bullets and proclamations—nor a contest between cologne water on one side and sugar-plum on the other; and if we enter into it, and carry it on, under the impression that the enemy will restrain their hands when they have the power to cripple our resources, destroy our property, or take our lives, we fight at the disadvantage which would attend the man who should attempt to tame a hyena by pelting him with soap-bubbles. War means quick and deadly means directed to combatants by any of the means which civilized nations may employ. It means exhaustion of the resources of the parties engaged therein, in such a way that one or the other will confess inability to carry it on. Now, if there is any method by which the right arm of the enemy against whom we contend may be sooner paralyzed, or his intolerable boasting and arrogance be sooner subdued, than by striking at the main resource upon which he relies for his bread—the labor of his slaves—we should be happy to have some one wiser than we are point it out.

We tell "the powers that be," that there has been enough sending back of prisoners, enough scrupulousness regard to the sanctity of slave "property," enough mistaken leniency and forbearance lest some right should be violated. The people, while offering their lives in countless thousands and their treasures in untold millions, that rebellion may be overcome, want the assurance that the Administration is in downright earnest as they are—ready to seize occasions as they rise, to take advantage of any weak side the enemy presents, and to turn to quick and rapid account any disability by which he is embarrassed. If prisoners are seized, which he is embarrassed, let them be sent to the rear of the base line, and put in camp, and treated as their crimes warrant. If traitors who are worth the trouble are got within Federal power, let them be tried, and if guilty of the overt act, hung up like malefactors and assassins as they are. If slaves escape, let them run, and let us be to him who sends one back. They are the backbone of the rebellion. They work while the traitors fight. They produce the bread that treason eats. They dig the trenches and throw up the embankments behind which traitors start. They are more valuable to any man for man, to the rebel cause than the whites who defend it. Without them the war would end in a month. Wherever they are cleaned out, there the contest is ended. In the name of all that is prudent and patriotic, let our boys have their way, and bid hard where they can! Have we not dealt in calumny and sugar plums long enough?

## ST. MARY'S LAKE WATER-CURE.

OPENED BY  
H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighbors, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most beautiful and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Detroit. The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-house is large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, electrical, and medicinal baths.

The latest water-cures are as clear and soft as the water from a spring from the granite mountain's side, and will be found to be the best of any in any land. Several hundred acres of this grand Old Oak Forest, immediately surrounding the lake, have been reserved for pleasure-grounds.

The excellent, requiring surgical treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to bear an operation, and receive the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of disease of the Eye. All operations performed that would be a source of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on hand. Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her listing in that department of the medical profession. There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be a most desirable location, when the musical and physical systems may both be developed; the one in the study of Music at the same time, and in book-keeping, which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make this CURE the invalids' lake, as well as a place for the recreation of the healthy.

Those coming as patients should furnish themselves with two comfortable, two linen or cotton packing cases, or a good blanket, and one half-dozen bath towels, or they can be furnished by the CURE at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS.—From \$7 to \$10 per week, for treatment, board, &c., according to room and care.